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**The Colonization Society vindicated to
Virginia,**

In a Discourse delivered before the Lynchburg Colonization Society, at its anniversary, in July, 1827. By J. B. Harrison, Esq.

WE publish the following Discourse not merely to evince our respect to the Association to whom it was addressed, and which requested for it a place in our Journal, but because we deem its merits of no ordinary character. and entitled to universal attention. Here are powerful arguments exhibited in a style of uncommon beauty, and with so much candour and liberality as to secure for them, we doubt not, the serious consideration of all the enlightened and unprejudiced minds in Virginia and in the United States.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Society—I should have been well content had the honour of your choice, and the responsibility of representing you, this day, fallen on some member of our body better qualified to assert the true character of our association and to speak for it in the voice of eloquent persuasion. At no time since the establishment of the parent Society, has its cause demanded more zealous friends or abler advocates than at this moment; assailed, as it is, by all the arts of ingenious misrepre-

sentation, or, if denounced in sincerity, then with an ignorance of the true objects of the Society, scarcely pardonable, because so gross. In a time so critical I have not the vanity, believe me, sir, to be satisfied that you have rested your defence on myself. Yet am I not unwilling to do all that lies in my power; and while to the Society I make an offering of my zeal, to those who listen I pledge my candor for the statements and sentiments which I shall utter to-day.

The present age is distinguished above all others, not more by the wide diffusion of knowledge and learning, than it is by a diffusive and wide reaching spirit of philanthropy. While nature has yielded up her most cautiously guarded secrets and shown a beautiful system of fixed laws, running thro' all her works, and while philosophy, brought down from its high imaginings, and become "with man, as with his friend, familiar," has taught us more and more convincingly, what I think the most valuable of all human truths, namely: that so systematic is moral obligation, that there is no situation in human life in which man's duty ever requires him to act, where-in he is permitted to dispense with the practice of truth and justice,—that the *morale* of politics, for example, is in no respect different from the rule of household duty, individuals have gone on to confirm by action this pure theory of human nature; have persuaded the world how easy it is to be a benefactor of our species, and by their enlarged plans of successful benevolence have approached near to a demonstration of the sublimest of all conclusions, that there is nothing, which on a just view of the interests of man, is desirable, which is not practicable. Instances there are, without doubt, and long will be, in which the possibilities of amelioration are checked by high necessities of prudence, forbearance and long suffering: but the world is beginning to listen to suggestions that these instances are not so numerous as has been imagined. Take a few examples: the danger of universal education is now mentioned only to be laughed at; the danger of unlimited toleration in religion, so promotive of piety, is no longer spoken of by the wise; and the liberty of unlicensed printing, now finds its opponents not among those who, from a liberal regard for the welfare of society, tremble at the lawlessness of this public agent, but those rulers only whose measures would not bear to be exposed to honest scrutiny. There is encouragement in these examples to believe that the world is not deaf to the voice of reason, and that it does not believe every scheme impracticable which is grand and comprehensive, and which enlists, in its behalf, some of the lofty sentiments of general truth and justice, which, to some minds, is conclusive evidence of the visionary nature of any scheme: and accordingly, philanthropy, thus cheered, has projected, and proposed to the world, many plans in the prosecution of which the most honourable exhibitions of individual enterprise and the most gratifying displays of public sympathy and support have been shown. Sir, it is a chief glory of our own times that in the persons of the European and American missionaries, so actively, and I

trust successfully engaged in spreading a knowledge of letters and of a more benign religion in the East, philanthropy has filled up the vacancies and made doubly true the picture so admirably designed by Mr. Burke, of the labours of the great Howard: "o dive into the depths of "dungeons; to plunge into the infection of hospitals; to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain; to take the gauge and dimensions of misery, "depression and contempt; to remember the forgotten; to attend to the "neglected; to visit the forsaken and to compare and collate the distresses "of all men in all countries." But never, till our own time, could it be said of the philanthropist, without exaggeration, in his concluding words, "his plan was a voyage of discovery, a circumnavigation of charity;" for the benevolence of our day has indeed travelled around the globe.

Yet, this is not an age of enthusiasm. Far from it; too large a part of the talent of the age is devoted to caricature, to ridicule and scorching sarcasm; and, what is more, too large a part of the good sense and good learning of the day is in the hands of those who look for the ludicrous part of every plan; by much too large to permit the public mind to be heated with unnecessary zeal even in the best cause, or to uphold, for a long time, any grave farce. It is not the age of enthusiasm; and happily it is not: it is the age of practical reason of great moral truths, rigidly established by *cool practical experiment*; the age which has relieved human nature from the apprehension that any of the baneful institutions in society are sealed and fated on us by our own imbecility, by proofs, too, which must satisfy the most plodding, the most determined enemies of novelty. Enthusiasm is not fit to be trusted with any great beneficent scheme, unsteady, blind and indiscriminating as it is. The most anxious zealot is little wise who would not rather trust the cherished plans to that state of devotion to principle so naturally rising up in this age, which, tempered by prudence and restrained by fear of the charge of absurdity, justly alleged, takes its course, calm, collected, and, like the cloud of the poet, "moveth altogether, if it move at all." Public opinion, when thus informed, is truly the voice of God. Need I add, it is irresistible?

It is now many years since the idea of colonizing the free blacks in the United States originated among us, and as I propose to address myself to you wholly as Virginians, I am happy to be able, in the outset, to congratulate our State on the part she has borne in the benevolent scheme for the furtherance of which we are associated. I state, then, that the plan originated in the Virginia Legislature, about twenty-five years ago, and that Mr. Monroe, then Governor, at the request of the Legislature, opened a correspondence with Mr. Jefferson, the President of the United States, consulting him on the best mode of procuring an asylum in some distant country for our free blacks. Mr. Jefferson proposed either to obtain admittance for them into the British Colony of Sierra Leone, then belonging to a private company, or into some of the Portuguese settlements in South

America. Both of these plans, however, failed. The Legislature, notwithstanding this, with a perseverance which shows how great their zeal was, at three several times, though in secret sessions, passed resolutions in favour of renewed exertions, until finally, in 1816, the Governor was once more, by public resolution, desired to address the President on this head, and our senators and representatives were requested to lend all their talents to its advancement.

“*Resolved*, that the Executive be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a Territory upon the coast of Africa, or at some other place, not within any of the States or Territorial Governments of the United States, to serve as an asylum for such persons of colour as are now free, and may desire the same, and for those who may hereafter be emancipated, within this Commonwealth, and that the Senators and Representatives of this State, in the Congress of the United States, be requested to exert their best efforts to aid the President of the United States in the attainment of the above object: *Provided*, That no contract or arrangement respecting such Territory, shall be obligatory on this Commonwealth, until ratified by the Legislature.”

This resolution passed the House of Delegates with but nine dissenting voices out of 146, and the Senate, with but one dissenter. The resolution was at that time declared by a member of Congress from Virginia to be truly the voice and feeling of Virginia; the plan is therefore VIRGINIAN, and I am proud of it. I trust *we* shall not be among the first to desert our own long nurtured and fast maturing plan, when it has gained the co-operation of other than Virginians; surely not for that reason. He who speaks in defence of an object so long desired by Virginia, and now put within our reach, may expect to be heard not as one who is the advocate of a suspicious plan, officiously devised for us by strangers, with the pretence that it is for our good, but as the advocate of a favourite scheme, which we should be sorry to find cause to abandon, and should feel disgraced if we abandon it without cause.

The American Colonization Society established, in 1816, at Washington, grew naturally out of the spirited efforts of the Virginia Legislature, and merits the thanks of Virginia for having done all that in effect, is yet done in furtherance of her object. It is this Society, then, as the representative of opinions so clearly and so zealously set in motion by Virginia, that I am ready here to attempt to vindicate and to uphold. 1st. What are its objects, and 2d, what the means of ever attaining them? The object of the Parent Society is declared to be the removal, with their own consent, of the free people of colour in the United States, and such persons as by the laws of the several States may be set free, to a settlement in Africa. Such is the only direct purpose of the Society, such its whole scope, and such its only end. It is no Abolition Society; it addresses as yet arguments to no

master, and disavows with horror the idea of offering temptations to any slave. It denies the design of attempting emancipation, either partial or general; it denies, with us, that the General Government have any power to emancipate; and declares that the States have exclusively the right to regulate the whole subject of slavery. The scope of the Society is large enough, but it is in no wise mingled or confounded with the broad sweeping views of a few fanatics in America, who would urge us on to the sudden and total abolition of slavery. Are the avowed and true objects of the Society desirable? And as these objects are two, let me consider them apart. 1st, as to the actual free people of colour, and next to those who may be hereafter set free, with reference to the Society. Is there any one who has regarded for a moment the deplorable condition of the liberated Africans in Virginia, who desires to retain them in our borders? I will look no farther when I seek for the most degraded, the most abandoned race on the earth, but rest my eye on this people. How came they thus? Alas! it is *we*, *we* who having first crushed all cheerful hope of good, all taste for praise paid to virtue, by making them slaves, have completed the work by throwing them out on a world where we are vain enough to expect from them actions without motives; efforts where is no spring; clearness and straightness of sight where is no light; where the passive qualities bring contempt, and the active meet no honour, but suspicion rather; where ignorance with its fool-born lightness of heart and giddy carelessness of to-morrow, leads them on; where poverty hangs its tatters on them, and plants its unappeased hunger in their breast; and where vice in its worst shapes, from indolence up to felony, is their shadow, their familiar, their tempter. Sir, is this imagination? And, being true, what but sorrow can we feel at the misguided piety which has set free so many of them by death-bed devise or sudden conviction of injustice? Better, far better, for us, had they been kept in bondage, where the opportunity, the inducements, the necessity of vice would not have been so great. Deplorable necessity, indeed, to one borne down with the consciousness of the violence we have done. Yet I am clear that, whether we consider it with reference to the welfare of the State, or the happiness of the blacks, it were better to have left them in chains, than to have liberated them to receive such freedom as they enjoy, and greater freedom we cannot, must not allow them. In 1810, there were 30,000, and in 1820 there were 37,000 free blacks in Virginia, an increase of about one fourth in ten years, which number would double itself, at that rate, in about 33 years. Emigration into Virginia of these people, there has been none, and all those emancipated since 1806, have been compelled to leave the State. It is observable that, with almost the whole slave population, the free blacks are gathered in the middle and eastern counties of the State. I am a Virginian—I dread for her the corroding evil of this numerous caste, and I tremble for the danger of a disaffection spreading through their seductions, among our servants. I am a man—I cannot disown some kind

regard for the welfare even of this humble wretched class; and further and deeper than this, am I concerned. I know that I, and all of us, have had our share in the institution which has brought them first to the degradation of slavery, and next binds them down to the baseness of ineffectual freedom.—Whether, then, we fear or loathe them—whether we feel compassion towards them, as a common feeling of humanity, or compunction, as to those we have injured, cruelly injured, we must all desire to be rid of them and if possible to make better their condition thereby. The whole number of free blacks in the United States in 1820, was 233,000, and the annual increase at this time has been calculated at 6,000. I need not, I am sure, address a single argument to any one in this assembly, to strengthen the conviction which this bare statement must produce, that this class must be removed from among us. And what plan does the Society propose as conducive to this great end? The history of the Society and its efforts is brief, and I prefer to use the concise language for a few sentences, of the Society itself. Immediately after its formation in 1816, “agents were sent
“out to the South-western coast of Africa, with instructions to visit the
“British settlement of Sierra Leone and other places in the vicinity, to select a proper location for the proposed colony, and to ascertain how far
“reliance might be placed on the favourable disposition of the native
“tribes; and from these commissioners, a report was received, of the most
“encouraging character. After some further inquiries and preparatory
“efforts, a small colony was sent out, in the year 1820, and placed on
“Sherbro Island, as a temporary residence, until possession could be obtained of a neighbouring tract of land on the continent, which the natives
“had promised to sell. The performance of this promise was delayed and
“evaded, under various pretexts, for a considerable time, during which
“the health of the colony suffered very materially from the low, flat and
“marshy ground of Sherbro, where they were compelled to continue their
“residence much longer than had been anticipated. At length, however,
“the Agent of the government of the United States employed to select a
“suitable situation for the Africans, recaptured, under the laws to suppress the slave trade, effected in conjunction with those of the Colonization Society, the purchase of an extensive territory at the mouth of the
“Montserado river, including the cape and bay of that river, and there the
“colony has been established. The soil is fertile, the land elevated nearly one hundred feet above the sea, the climate as healthy as any in Africa, and the anchorage in the Bay and roadstead, not inferior to any on
“the whole coast. The distance from the flourishing colony at Sierra
“Leone is between 2 and 300 miles. The natives in the vicinity are divided into a great number of small and nearly independent tribes, and being
“but slightly held together by any superior authority, may be considered
“as wholly incapable of uniting, to any serious extent, for purposes of
“hostility. In a single instance, an attack was made on the colony while

“ in its feeblest condition; but the facility with which it was repelled, renders
“ the future security of the colony from similar attacks unquestionable,
“ under its probable increase of population, and the improved means of
“ defence with which it is already provided.” “The conduct of the na-
“ tives indeed is now of the most peaceable and friendly character.”—
“ Notwithstanding all the difficulties inseparable from the nature of the at-
“ tempt, the colony has annually increased in population, and now con-
“ tains upwards of 600 individuals; a government has been established,
“ provided, as far as practicable, with the necessary securities for life, liber-
“ ty and property. Schools are opened for the instruction of natives, as
“ well as colonists. A library of 1200 vols. has been sent over, and a print-
“ ing press; lands have been cleared, and partitioned among the settlers, and
“ an annual product may soon be anticipated adequate to the supply as well
“ of all who have already emigrated, as also of those who may hereafter be
“ induced to seek for happiness and independence, in the land of their fa-
“ thers, and a home of their own.” Of the health, let me add, that of two
vessels which sailed during the early part of the year 1826, the one from
Boston with 34 emigrants, and the other from Norfolk with 154 persons, of
whom 139 were from North Carolina, nearly one half of the passengers from
Boston, perished at Liberia, while not one of the latter vessel suffered se-
verely from sickness, a fact which shows how perfectly the Africans who
had lived in our Southern climate are qualified for the tropical climate to
which they go. Of the soil, that it is among the richest in the world; and
of the trade, that no less than 15 vessels touched at Liberia in the first half
of the year 1826, and purchased the produce of the country, to the amount
of about \$43,980, African value, and that by this traffic, the colony had
made a total profit of \$30,780.

The price of labour to mechanics is two dollars per day, and to common
labourers from 75 cents to \$1 25; and the circumstances of the settlers, of
course, are easy and comfortable. “Every family,” says Mr. Ashmun, “and
nearly every single adult person in the colony, has the means of employing
from one to four native labourers, at an expense of from four to six dollars
the month; and several of the settlers, when called upon, in consequence
of sudden exigencies of the public service, have made repeated advances
of merchantable produce to the amount of \$300 to 600 each. Such is the
beginning of the colony; such the asylum held out inviting the free blacks;
and such the spot which the Virginia Legislature so long and so ardently
sought to find, in order to display its humanity and magnanimity in a suit-
able mode toward these degraded persons. And now, that we have found
it, is it for us in Virginia to be studious of objections to the sufficiency of
the plan? Shall we deny its merit, brand its spirit as enthusiastic, nay fan-
atical, and rave against it as incendiary, and never once remember that it is
our own plan, exactly as set out in our Act of Assembly of 1816, and adopted
by others at our suggestion’ with no one adjunct or quality which our own

plan would not have possessed? True it is, there *are* a few among us, and those, too, not the least conspicuous in the State, who have found, may I say created, objections to the colonizing system?—It is these objections to which I alluded in commencing; and the formal avowal of them as conclusive against the Society, is, I think, the most important event which I can bring to the notice of this auxiliary Society at this its anniversary. The first great material objection is that the Society does, in fact, in spite of its denial, meditate and conspire the emancipation of the slaves. To the candid, let me say that there are names on the rolls of the Society too high to be rationally accused of the duplicity and insidious falsehood which this implies; farther, the Society and its branches are composed, in by far the larger part, of citizens of slave-holding states, who cannot gravely be charged with a design so perilous to themselves. To the uncandid disputant, I say, let him put his finger on one single sentiment, declaration or act of the Society, or of any person, with its sanction, which shows such to be their object: there is in fact no pretext for the charge. But it is at least apprehended that some danger of this kind lies hid in the second branch of the Society's plan—that in reference to such persons as by the laws of the States or acts of owners, may be hereafter set free. The objection brings me to the illustration of that branch, as I proposed. It is most true, that the Society in devising a scheme for the blacks already free, have been fortunate enough to contrive one susceptible of expansion to the utmost degree that humanity may demand; have tried to provide an asylum large enough for as many as we may at any time, voluntarily, and according to the laws of our State manumit. Most, true, also, is it, that by providing a safe and happy refuge for such as are permitted to go, it results that some masters, hitherto prevented by the fear that they would confer no real happiness on them by turning them loose in America, while they would certainly be curses to Society here, may be in time induced to liberate those under their dominion, and send them far out of the limits where they can be despised, and we endangered by their contagion. Such was, in every particular, the plan of the Virginia Legislature; such would have been its expansibility and admirable adaption also.

But shall it be, indeed, matter of reproach to the Society that it offers a mode whereby such as are perfectly willing may relieve themselves of their slaves, without possibility of danger to the community? Are the masters in Virginia afraid to trust themselves to the temptation of an opportunity so inviting to patriotism, so free from ill consequence as this will be, I trust in some future day? For surely this thing will never be done without our entire consent. But I draw nearer. I take it for granted, it is impossible for me to doubt it, that every individual slave-holder in the United States acknowledges the injustice and violence of the right he assumes over his slaves, and feels it his duty, before God, and to his country, to renounce that right whenever he can do it with safety to the community and to the real

benefit of the slaves. Men may doubt about the fitness of an opportunity; the opportunity may not yet be come; may not come for one or two centuries; but the wise know that it will come, and patriotism trusts it may come soon. When it *has* arrived, I know that honest men will take but one course. I do not condemn, let me be understood, their detention in bondage under the circumstances which are yet existing. I may be permitted to declare that I would be a slave holder to-day without scruple.— But, Mr. President, I hold it due to candor to say, that if there be a statesman in the United States, and I believe there are two or three such, who is content that we shall always hold them in servitude, and would advise us to rest contented with them, us and our posterity, without seeking or accepting means of liberating ourselves and them, he deserves a heavier vengeance than the orator's bile, the curses alike of America counselled to her ruin, and of outraged Africa. Let me not be considered harsh; for, inasmuch as the piratical trader for human beings on the African coast, the master of the slave ship, is the most detestable of monsters in action, so, I must say, is the advocate by cool argument of slavery in the abstract, odious in thought. I know such is not the feeling of Virginia; we hope that one day or other, more propitious than the present, it must be, our posterity shall see this a liberated land. Meanwhile, no one shall upbraid the humane master, and not a whisper of sedition be suffered to reach the slave. I admit, then, for the Society, that, when its colony is enlarged, as it hopes it will be, in its capacity, it will afford some great conveniences to all masters who, with their understandings perfectly convinced, their feelings gained, their self-interest wholly persuaded, and not without all these, are desirous of doing their share, for humanity or for policy. Yet the Society holds out no *invitations* of this sort, for the colony is yet confined in its capacity, and the free blacks, the main object, are not to any degree removed yet.

By and by, the reflection will come more and more home to our "business and our bosoms," that we are indulging and clinging to a connection, not more beneficial to us than to the slaves, which checks the growth of the state, and impedes it in its career after wealth and all improvement; that slave labour is dearer than free; and that the ill effects of slavery on ourselves are without number; then shall we all be of one mind. Are they our *brothers*, whom we have torn from their homes? we will bear them back with repentant kindness. Are they *vipers*, who are sucking our blood? we will hurl them from us. It is not sympathy alone,—not sickly sympathy, no, nor manly sympathy either,—which is to act on us; but vital policy, self-interest, are also enlisting themselves on the humane side in our breasts. Leave us, Virginians, to ourselves, and we shall one day do all that can be asked. And I have said that the Society does leave you to yourselves: and if it be that it is opening an outlet for some part of the evil to such as are entirely willing to part with it, I know not whether most to pity or con-

demn those who reproach them for it. But, it is alleged that the collateral effects of such an institution; one of such adaptation to the wishes of slaveholders, truly, are injurious or threatening. To this, my distinct answer shall be, 1st, that I am wholly unable to conjecture what dangers these are. The removal of every single free black in America, would be productive of nothing but safety to the slaveholder, nor would the emancipation of as many as the benevolence of individual masters would send off, as far as I can see, be productive of disaffection among the remainder, more than the example of such as are every day set free, and sent to Ohio or elsewhere; and if so large a part should ever be set free as to create discontent among the remainder, (and nothing but the emancipation of a great majority can do this,) yet that remainder must then, from the terms of the proposition, be so much diminished, as to be easily kept down by superior numbers. I have already disclaimed any agency of the Society in stirring up disaffection directly, and I heartily declare that this noble scheme is connected with no pestilential secret quality, inseparably bound to it, or as the Society think, in any way attendant on it. But, 2dly. If this deliverance of ourselves is ever to take place,—and I have said that come it must,—never will it be with so little danger, so little ground for apprehension, as it may in time in this mode; and to as much danger as there really is in this plan we must make up our minds. Surely, we are not prepared to condemn to hatred and ridicule, every plan in which some childish imagination, or the officious, tiresome, chattering vanity of what some say once was wisdom, may pretend to think possibly dangerous? Let me repeat, the friends of the Colonization Society, three-fourths of them, are slaveholders; the legislatures of Maryland, Georgia, Kentucky and Tennessee, all slave-holding states, have approved it; every member of this auxiliary Society is, either in himself, or his nearest relatives, interested in holding slaves. It is such as we who have originated and are maturing the plan; and, I ask, shall not we be allowed to promote our own safety, and gratify our humane feelings, for fear that our more selfish neighbour, a century hence, may have to guard his bondsmen a little more closely? It is too much to expect from us, that we shall always suppress these feelings, or shut our eyes to apprehensions of our own danger, “nearer, clearer, deadlier” perhaps than we yet dream of, for fear of some remote, imaginary danger. It is too much to expect, even the most considerate, the most cautious, the most friendly to our safety, in the other States, to suppress those compassionate sentiments of liberty, of truth and of justice, which, in every other relation of life, are our glory. Do not vainly desire it. it is of the very essence of life in America. The soul, in this land, is no reservoir of such principles, poured into it; it is a salient fountain of liberty: it is not an opaque reflector, but it is radiant, instinct with light. “Earth has no shade” deep enough, black enough, “to quench that beam of Heaven.” Yet, believe me, *they*, too, love us at least too well to hurry us on

to our own destruction; and guided, as the Society is, by our own friends and companions in the South, and the slave-holding parts of the West, can you not feel secure that there is no latent artifice in the scheme? And when this is done, can you not see that the only plan of doing that which must one day be done, all admit, all hope, which is free from all probable danger, is that which the Society will enable you one day to adopt; and can you not rest contented, that no remote perils will disturb its course of successful beneficence? none, at all events, of importance enough to crush our exertions? Once more; this Society is in no way connected with certain Abolition Societies in the country. To these the Colonization Society would say, "Your object is unattainable, your zeal dangerous, and nothing can give it the right direction or the right temperature, but your surrendering your plan to our's: be convinced, that if the blacks are ever to be removed from us, it will be by the free will of the owners, and by means of the opportunity which our innocent plan of an asylum for such as may be sent, will afford."

The next material objection, urged, too, of late more and more forcibly, is, that the plan is impracticable, even if desirable. Mr. President, this objection comes either from such as have a moral cowardice, an unworthy opinion of man's powers, and an exaggerated awe of deep-settled institutions, (a patience and submissiveness which have done more for the growth of evil, than the most active audacity in wickedness,) or else from those who do not understand our object and our means. Our object, as I have so often said, is to colonize the free people of colour, and the Society has always declared, that, designing itself only to give a beginning, and an impulse to the plan, it would have to rely for its perfect success on other than such scanty individual aid as it has yet received. Legislative aid we acknowledge it must have, and munificent aid too; and is it not entitled to this? It is futile to talk of its impracticability, if you refuse it aid. For myself, I rely much on the patriotism of the State Legislatures to forward the work. There is not a state in the Union not at this moment groaning under the evil of this class of persons, a curse and a contagion wherever they reside. It is in the power of our own Legislature to remove the yearly increase in Virginia, about 700, by a moderate annual allowance, and surely no object more desirable, has ever yet occupied their deliberations. The wealth of the states is ample to transport yearly the 6000 who are added to the number in the United States; for this, \$5000 per annum would be more than enough: a sum contemptible when contrasted with their wealth and the magnitude of the evil. I speak, now, of taking off the surplus, after the plan of Mr. Clay, the advantages of which would be immense, while the whites would be continually multiplying. But, the difficulty of transporting the whole, or far the larger part, is not insurmountable: the transportation costs twenty dollars a head, only about one-third of the cost in 1820. If we desire this thing, plainly it *can* be done, and that, too, with-

out heavy burdens on ourselves. But, the slave-holding states are so deeply concerned in this matter, and to transport them seems so clearly in their power, that it is rather surprising that it is not already begun *by them*, in that gradual manner which commends itself to all. There is another source however, from which I own the Society at Washington solicits aid: a source whose means are adequate to the removal of this evil, without any doubt. I mean, the Congress of the United States. And here, in candor, Mr. President, let me say, that I am not clear as to the power of the government to expend money for the purpose of aiding the transportation of these people. The power to purchase a more extensive territory in Africa it clearly has. Besides this, the preservation of the laws against the slave trade, requires Congress to keep an armed force there, and re-captured Africans are rightly furnished by government with a residence and means of support in the Colony. Thus much assistance it may clearly render. It is amusing to know that the first motion in Congress for the aid, influence and patronage of the government to the Society, was made and urged by Mr. Randolph, in 1816. I will only add to this, that the government have appropriated money repeatedly under the clause of the constitution under which such a grant as the Society seeks would take refuge; and that, when the treasury may permit it, I should be loth, indeed, to denounce the dedication of some fund to this truly patriotic and desirable purpose. But, if we are to be cut off from this fuller treasury, and I think the Society will not be ultimately denied by Congress, we have still great reliance on the exchequer of the States, and on those numberless streams of private benevolence, which, though they have long flowed on, have not yet exhausted the fulness of good men's hearts. Again; it has been said that it is impracticable, because the free blacks will not go; but the Society has had abundant proof of the contrary of this. Many have been always pressing to go, and, during the last winter, the free people of colour in Baltimore, with few exceptions, joined in a petition to their Legislature, praying means of departure.

Most of these objections, with various others, have been, within the last year, urged on the people of Virginia, by one, who, it might be supposed, from recent occurrences, must have been heard with unusual deference. Far would it be from me to treat with disrespect, the vagaries which beguiled, I hope successfully, the tedious hours of sickness and old age, or to speak with other than good humour of the bustling vanity, which, boiling into actually comic disdain from disappointment and long neglect, has at last poured itself out in one incessant petty stream, rippling over every little pebble, and babbling as it runs, with vastly more pomp than an arm of the sea, were this vanity quite harmless. Far would harshness be from my mind towards such a person, particularly one who has some claims for past talents and past services. I should be content to choose my own reading, and to leave him to the no doubt gratifying perusal of his own works, without taking this brief notice of him, were there not an illiberality, a bit

terness of heart visible in his attack on this Society too gross to merit forbearance. Yet should I not think the Society in danger from the writings of an author whose truths are truisms, never doubted but when made to rest on irrelevant reasoning like his, and never in danger of disbelief except from the contagious fallacies which he associates with them, whose novelities are puerilities, and whose unanswerableness I may truly say, lies in the interminable length of his washy essays, where neither flavour, nor strength, nor inviting mildness is—had it not pleased wiser men than us to exalt him to a station wherein such a hostile spirit as his I fear bodes us no good. I do not hesitate to say, that since the days of the Revolution, there have been no sentiments uttered in Virginia so plainly contradictory to every principle of general liberty, and every fundamental postulate of political philosophy as those avowed by this person on this subject, and by that other Virginian who declared the self-evident truth that all men are by nature, free and equal, (in the sense which it bears in the Declaration of Independence of course,) to be a most pernicious falsehood in his official place. And where did the former learn *his* new doctrines. He learned them in deep retirement from political life, in that retirement, which forces on most men a firmer and firmer confidence in the generous maxims at the bottom of free government, and expands the mind with hope of the ultimate freedom of every people. Let him who doubts the essential connexion between deep political wisdom in retired old age, and the placid diffusiveness of benevolence, go into the closet of Montpelier, and behold the author of the Report of '99 (a volume true in every line, and unsurpassed for its logic, by Barrow, or the severity of La Place,) and he will find life yet in its elastic warmth and in its sweetness, and the feeling which once was love of country, enlarged long since into that emotion which boasts *nil humani alienum*, ideas once absorbed by events of a small space and a briefer time now dilated to be with, scarce any exaggeration, thoughts that wander through all coming time. Active life is too apt to confine our principles to particulars, but the speculative moments to which retirement invites, raise them up to universals in well balanced minds. I pity, indeed, that man who retires from action, having been averse through life to reading, and condemned to the company of his own thoughts, when those thoughts are daily shrinking up into a leaner and more starved system of exclusive uncharitableness. This sage objects to our plan, that inasmuch as it will directly or indirectly, remotely or nearly, make some opening for us to emancipate our slaves, we are little better than incendiaries, certainly visionaries, fanatics, and, he declares, that we need not distress our consciences now, nor in any generation to come, as far as I see, about their slavery, for that they are *better off than the labourers of Europe*.

Now, the deductions from this proposition, when used against the innocent plan of the Society, I think are these. Wherever the oppression suffered by a class of men in your government is not greater than the misc-

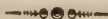
ry to which the poor in other countries are liable, the oppressor may rest, always satisfied; *next*, that it is not contrary to the theory of free government to force men to certain degradation, provided *you think* they would probably not escape a misery as great if left to their free will; *next*, that a well fed slave is a less degraded being than a freeman who in a thickly settled country, is forced to rely on his own hands for his bread, which he may not always be able to earn, though the latter may choose his occupation, and choose his employer, and has the benefit of being able to rise to the seat nearest the throne; *next*, that foreign governments could not be blamed if they were to make slaves of such as are called the common labourers, giving them to masters who would feed them, and thereby promote their happiness!! Mr. President, this is of the very essence of despotism; and if I could be brought to use this argument to satisfy Virginia that she may well keep her slaves always, I should be graceless to pretend that I believed in any single principle of free government. I, too, am glad if their condition is softened by humanity, and while we are obliged to keep them, this is a glad reflection. But then, when the necessity shall cease, he who thinks it will then be a good argument, would have justified the African slave trade. Moreover, it is not a question whether England has a right to upbraid us, or France, or even the non-slave holding States in America; but do *we* not feel the obligation ourselves to act whenever we can safely do so? It cannot be said in defence of this writer that he does not mean to justify its continuance forever; I say that no other view of his argument is applicable to the peaceful, voluntary opportunity which the Society is charged with preparing to hold out; he who uses the argument against the Society in anticipation will use it, to the last, let what favourable circumstance come that may. In accordance with this sentiment is the often avowed opinion of the same person, that all general plans of education among the poor, by the public, are pernicious. Again, he condemns the plan and spirit of the Society, because he says it is "of mammoth conception, and embraces continents." Under the limitations I have laid down, I own it, and pity him who condemns it for this, when Americans are his readers. I know of nothing truly amiable and glorious that can be compressed within a nut-shell, except the *wisdom* of one wise man among us. I trust humanity is not to be forced into such narrow dimensions.

Lastly, he condemns all colonies as mischievous to the mother country. It is enough to reply to this, that this will be neither a commercial colony for profit to us, nor one which we should desire to retain a moment longer than till the colony is able to protect itself; subject to attack from none but pirates or the natives, whom they will not long find it difficult to repel, neither is it liable to any of those quarrels and heart-burnings with the mother country which have so often made commercial colonies injurious, simply because we shall not seek profit from it, and shall not seek to exercise dominion over it a day after they are unwilling.

Mr. President, and Gentlemen, I ask you, then, is there any reason in all these objections wherefore we should withdraw our support from this cause? Is our scheme not one which, in its chief object, the removal of the free blacks, is noble and patriotic, and in its fitness to be taken up and applied hereafter by the south at its own voluntary instance, safe and valuable in every view? Do the just and the generous minded who hear me, not feel that it is a plan worthy of all approbation, and of united action?—The more and more it is considered, the warmer will applause rise up. I cannot give my assent to our late Senator, when, calling this spirit madness he declared that he had long read himself out of it. It is not madness; it is not enthusiasm. It is *temperate, judicious action*, from the conviction of great truths. And long may it be before I shall exult that I have lost my participation in the most hallowed feeling which ever warmed the bosoms of statesmen. Might I but sit at the feet of that idol of the hearts of future ages, and glow with kindred feeling to his, whether Fox in the mute crowd in Westminster Hall, or Fox in the Philosophic Shades of St. Anne's,* at no time forgetful of this subject and this spirit, I should little envy those who in free America, can *read themselves* into other doctrines. Nor can I give my assent to the sentiment of a Senator from South Carolina, that this is both a pernicious scheme and a day-dream, avowed last winter in his place. It may seem so to the people of South Carolina, so difficult as they were to convince of the wickedness of the slave trade. It is a source of pride to Virginia that she stands in no close alliance to Carolina on this head. During our colonial existence, when it was the English policy to introduce as many slaves as possible among us, the Virginia House of Burgesses passed three and twenty acts tending to suppress this horrible traffic, nearly all, however, negatived by the King. And in the Declaration of Independence, that purest patriot, Mr. Jefferson, had inserted a heart-stirring passage, charging this as a crime to the King, aggravated by Lord Dunmore's endeavouring to stir up these very slaves against us; and it was stricken out with the knowledge that South Carolina and one other state only, I believe, would not join in it. In 1778, as soon as Virginia was free, she made the African slave trade punishable by death, while Carolina, for reasons known to herself, continued it till 1808, thirty years longer. And, at our instance too, was the act of Congress passed, declaring it piracy, subjecting the offender to capture and punishment in any court of any nation which should pass the same law. Such is VIRGINIA, always noble, always humane and adventurous for the right!—Upright, and brave, and courteous, and refined—these are the solidities of Virginia power. If ever thrown from her balance by unexpected events, she may be deluded, but not long. I know she will always, quickly thereafter, begin once more the long majestic march of pure principle. Those of us who visit other lands,

* *Note.* See Roger's "Human Life."

complain, perhaps too querulously, of her drooping, and backwardness to adopt improvement; but they know that her's is the best of all capacities for improvement. And happy the patriarch who shall see her, and happier the young who shall then begin their career, when, redeemed from her torpor and her proud inactivity, her countless energies quickened, and the thickening darkness of the cloud of slavery rent from before her face,—shall it not one day be so?—she shall stand forth to the world, owned and hailed by all a SPOTLESS VIRGIN *Commonwealth*.



Latest from Liberia.

By the brig *Doris*, we have received the most full and animating accounts from the African Colony. Indeed, never, before, have we been favoured with despatches of so cheering a character. We cannot doubt, for a moment, that these communications are to have a very extensive and powerful effect upon the people of this Union. We commence in this number, the publication of some of the more interesting documents.

CALDWELL, MAY 11th, 1827.

GENTLEMEN: In adverting first to a topic of subordinate importance, but at the moment doubtless of leading interest, as well to the Board, as amongst ourselves, I have the pleasure to announce the safe arrival of all the passengers despatched by the *Doris* in February last, on the 11th of April, after a smooth and pleasant passage of 45 days. The brig being English in her built, and winds moderate, a somewhat protracted voyage was the consequence. One birth occurred on board the vessel, giving your Society the advantage of introducing one hopeful colonist, without expense. Nearly all the infirm had recovered their health on the passage: and for ten days subsequent to the arrival of the company, the Colony was able to show, as for weeks previous, a clear health bill. A few cases of slight intermitten had occurred among the passengers of the *Doris*, towards the end of the second week after their arrival. During the third, eighty, out of the whole number (93), were affected—and in the fourth week, which terminated two days ago, the rest, with some three or five exceptions, are numbered with the indisposed. Two small children—one very young—have been carried off. All the adults are convalescent—and several have moderately resumed their customary labours.

The people from Baltimore were the first affected by our climate; and generally, the *greatest* (I might almost say, the *only*) sufferers. The Virginians followed next in the order of time, as well as the severity of their symptoms—and, in regard to the natives of N. Carolina, all the change they have undergone seems to be less of a *disease*, than a *salutary effort of nature* to accommodate the physical system of its subjects, by a safe and gentle process of attenuation, to the new influences of a tropical climate. The most protracted case of illness in the whole number, has not lasted longer than five days. *Three* days is, perhaps, the average time of the in-doors confinement of such as could be pronounced *sick*; about one third part have not been closely confined at all.

The Receptacle in this settlement was so far completed, as to receive the people the second week; where they are much more commodiously lodged than any of their predecessors have been, at the only time when indulgent treatment and dry quarters are indispensably necessary. Most of the company having remained at the cape during the ten days next subsequent to their arrival, cannot be considered as fair subjects of an experiment to determine the relative salubrity of the two settlements to recent emigrants. But, if a purer atmosphere may be inferred from the absence of extensive marsh-lands in immediate proximity—and a superior degree of animal vigour from a temperature averaging 3° lower; the St. Paul's territory is certainly well entitled to all the preference over the cape, which these important subsidiary causes of health can give it. Taking its past history for a criterion, a healthier settlement of equal extent, is not, I presume, to be found in all the salubrious regions of the extensive West of our own country.

The attention paid to their passengers by the officers, and particularly Mr. W. P. Matthews, the supercargo and part owner of the *Doris*, appears to have been of the most minute as well as judicious kind. Mr. M. condescended to bestow on the complaints of the infirm and diseased, (there were several of both descriptions at the period of their embarkation) all the attention which the most amiable benevolence could prompt;—and to administer, with success, such relief and remedies as a somewhat more than practical knowledge of medicine and diseases, enabled him to apply.

John M'Gill from Baltimore, appears capable of supplying in some degree the place in our school system, vacated by the death of the lamented Holton. I believe he will fulfil the expectations of the gentlemen at whose instance he was engaged to take passage by the Doris. He is in a fair way to recover, in a few days, the strength necessary to the management of the arduous charge preparing for him. His great regret, as well as my own, is, that the discouraging and false reports relative to the state of the Colony, propagated in Baltimore, principally by the infamous Captain C. prevented his bringing out his family. An arrangement will, I trust, be made for procuring them a passage without his return to America.

On a survey of the general state of the Colony, I have little to remark, which has not already been the subject of some former communication to your Board. The unfortunate war between Trade Town and Young Sesters, which led to a temporary suspension of the factory, and of our occupation of territory, at the latter place, is amicably terminated, to the advantage of Sesters. All the public and private property of the Colony, which has been confided to Freeman's protection and care, since the recall of the factor, has been scrupulously respected and preserved, amidst the alarm and disorder of the war: and measures are now in preparation for resuming our occupation of the country, in a way which I hope will make it perpetual, and equally advantageous to the Sesters people and our own. King Freeman, has made us a formal, and apparently sincere relinquishment of one half of all his territories, on the condition that we do not abandon the settlement we have feebly begun upon it. Carpenters and materials for the erection of some substantial buildings, are to be sent down the next week, under the direction of Mr. Warner, the persevering pioneer of the establishment, who returns thither attended with such other settlers and assistants, as will, at once, give the establishment an aspect of considerable respectability.

The expense likely to attend the renovation of the Sesters, is not great, and, I trust, will, even from the first, be *more than repaid by the net proceeds of its factory.*

June 10th. I have the pleasure to state that this event has taken place. Three of the colonists are now, I trust permanent-

ly fixed on the Sesters: and our trade and improvements actively resumed.

The St. John's establishment continues in a state as prosperous as the attention we have been able to give it, authorized us to hope. A large plantation has been connected with the factory of the Island—and some private improvements begun by the resident on his own lands there. The way is perfectly prepared for the introduction of a little colony of twenty to fifty families to this fertile spot, at once—and an indefinite number, at short intervals, ever afterwards.

The colony has a resident agent, (and the first we have ever been able to introduce) at Little Bassa, 15 miles to the N. W. of St. Johns. The jealousy of this tribe has presented an obstacle to the free intercourse of the Colony with the leeward country, ever since the first planting of our establishments along the coast. The slave trade was persisted in by their chiefs, till the present year; and a more than secret and silent dislike, and dread of the Colony, has been opposed by them, to the advancement of its interest in their neighbourhood. But unless I greatly deceive myself, every cause of their enmity and jealousy, has, for some months past, been fast melting away; and we are, by the most unexceptionable means, introducing among them, an influence which is, with God's blessing, to ameliorate and exalt their own condition, and to lead on to the establishment of a civilized population in that quarter, at no great distance of time.

We have, already, to some extent, connected with all our factories an agricultural appendage—a plan which has proved mutually advantageous, in different ways, both to the country people, and the Colony. A most desirable addition still to be made to both, is a school for the instruction of the native youth and children, of the respective tribes in which our establishments are situated. It is not necessary for me to dilate on the present and future advantages, that must result from the establishment of these schools. Whether we regard them, as a cheap means, of extending the power of the Colony—as the most effectual instruments of civilizing the continent—as a noble exercise of rational philanthropy—or, the best expression of Christian piety, (and the object I think, is susceptible of each of these views) I can think of no work connected with the rearing of the Colony,

of which the accomplishment is more desirable. If the funds of the American Colonization Society are thought, however, to be pledged to other purposes, more palpably connected with Colonization, and I, for one, am disposed to believe them to be so pledged, cannot the appeal be made by the friends of Africa, or even officially through the Board, to such charitable institutions in the United States, as have already admitted the support of schools, for the education of pagan children, among their enumerated objects. I think it nearly capable of moral demonstration, that *the African tribes, may be civilized without expulsion from their chosen settlements and villages, and without that fearful diminution of their population, which has from causes that do not exist here, as in regard to the Indians of America, accompanied the march of civilization in that hemisphere.* But, to prevent so disastrous an effect of this Colony, I am entirely convinced, notwithstanding the social and stationary habits of the Africans, that some cautionary measures are called for—and none promise to be more effectual, than a systematic and universal adherence to the plan of sending forward our establishments into the bosom of the tribes around us, and appending to each of these establishments, a school for the education of their children—*previous* to their comprehension, within the limits of the Colony itself.

Nothing has lately occurred to alter our relations, which remain of the most amicable kind, with the Junk tribe—and nothing either to darken, or extend our prospects, much at that station. An English merchant, John Smith, possessing considerable influence on the coast, fortified by ample means, has attempted the obtrusion of a trading establishment at the mouth of the Junk; but very prudently abandoned his design, on being notified of the certain and unpleasant consequences of persisting in so rash an enterprise.

An excursion of one of our people into the interior, to the distance of about 140 miles, has led to a discovery, of the populousness, and comparative civilization of this district of Africa, never, till within a few months, even conjectured by myself.—The same individual is now absent on a second journey. The particulars of both, I hope to be able to present to the Board by the next conveyance. In the mean time, it may not be without

interest to observe, that we are situated within fifty leagues of a country, in which a highly improved agriculture prevails—where the horse is a common domestic animal—where extensive tracts of land are cleared and enclosed—where every article absolutely necessary to comfortable life, is produced by the soil, or manufactured by the skill and industry of the inhabitants—where the Arabic is used as a written language, in the ordinary commerce of life—where regular and abundant markets and fairs are kept—and, where a degree of intelligence, and practical refinement, distinguish the inhabitants, little compatible with the personal qualities attached, in the current notions of the age, to the people of Guinea.

The trade of the Colony with the tribes of inland Africa, having ever been regarded as an object of very subordinate interest, as it relates to its substantial prosperity, is but little indebted to the fostering care of its government. The maritime tribes have hitherto, engrossed the direct trade of the interior; and adopting the old Dutch commercial policy, *to possess themselves of all the streams, by concealing the remote sources of their gains*, have not only precluded us from the intercourse of the interior, but nearly denied us all knowledge of it. It was not till the last season, that it was known, certainly, at Montserado, that the inland tribes desired to open a direct communication with us. We have since received such information from the Gurrahs, and Condoes, two of the nearest considerable nations, towards the North East, as place their anxiety to avail themselves of a direct correspondence with the Colony, beyond the reach of doubt. A large proportion of the valuable products of the country, which enter into the exports from this Colony, is from these countries: and, by opening for them a free passage down to our settlements, there is reason to believe the amount hitherto received, may be doubled. This object has accordingly been attempted, and such progress made in the business, by means of an amicable negotiation with the Coast tribes, as promises soon to result in the most entire success. It may be necessary to the acquisition of this valuable privilege, to expend some money.—But the object is so obviously and directly favourable to the trading interest of the settlers, that there is no difficulty apprehended in raising among them by voluntary contributions, the

sum that may be required. No public fund at my disposal can, in my opinion, be properly expended in the purchase of more commercial advantages for our settlements. The path about to be opened, runs from the Cape, 16 miles towards the N. West along the beach—and thence, strikes Northwardly into the interior countries: and twelve miles from the sea, enters a populous country, exhibiting as far as our information reaches, contiguous farms, easy roads, and villages and towns at intervals of one, two, and three miles.

CALDWELL, JUNE 12th, 1827.

GENTLEMEN: It affords me satisfaction to state that we have, within a very few days, accomplished the renovation of our Schools throughout the Colony—organizing all on the Lancasterian system, and uniting them under a common Superintendent, who is the Rev. George M’Gill, late from Baltimore. There is at present, a great want of school books and stationary. We are grateful for the box of the former, sent out by the Doris.—But, among more than 200 children,* they cannot be looked upon as a supply for more than half a year.

The treaty with Mama, for a few hundred acres of land situated on the N. E. part of Bushrod island, and opposite (Stockton creek intervening) to Caldwell, has this week been concluded by the cession of the lands to us. About 20 families, by the Doris, will, I trust, be settled on these lands in a few weeks. They have already entered upon, and commenced to clear them. The soil as well as situation, renders them a most desirable residence. We hope the next season to have a bridge across the Stockton, to connect the new Bushrod settlement with this: Its length must be 140 feet.

* All the children of the Colony attend school. They are,

Belonging to the Rev. Mr. Carey’s School for native children,	45
Belonging to the Rev. Mr. M’Gill’s classes,	16
Belonging to Mr. Stewart’s School,	44
Belonging to Miss Jackson’s do.	40
Belonging to Mrs. Williams’s do.	30
Belonging to Mr. Prout’s do.	52

Total, 227

Our St. Paul's purchase in 1825, gave us the whole left bank of the Stockton, from St. Paul's river to Montserado—on which the Board are already apprised that there are now three flourishing settlements, including the Stockton street of Caldwell.—The present purchase gives us the whole right bank of the same creek (eight miles), and introduces us into the fat lands of Bushrod island, which can of itself sustain a small colony. I have stipulated to pay M. an annuity of 50 bars (value in the United States, 12 to \$14) for six to ten years, should she live to need it. Even this sum is worth to her more than the use of any lands she has a labouring force to cultivate on Stockton creek; and she is satisfied.

Respectfully, Gentlemen,

Your devoted Servant.

J. ASHMUN.

JUNE 16, 1827.

DEAR SIR: After sealing my letters for the Doris, it has occurred that the Board might expect something to be said relative to the next shipment.

About the 1st of October, it may reasonably be expected that the whole number of people now on expense, will be off our hands—and that the *Receptacle* at present occupied by them, will be vacant as early as the 1st of December, by their removal into their own houses. The *Receptacle* will hold 150 persons—and additional accommodations may be easily procured for 50 more.

Should the Board despatch their next company with a view to the settlement of Bassa, which I hope they will, it will be necessary to provide particularly for the exigencies of a new settlement, by sending, or authorizing me to buy here, (which is still better) 10,000 feet of boards.

A liberal supply of tools, as bill-hooks, axes, hoes, carpenters' tools (only the most common, as benchplanes, saws, files, &c.), drawing knives, frows, wedges, &c. &c. will also be required.

As to provisioning that settlement—or any future emigrants; the plan I suggested formerly, of sending out tobacco, cloths, pipes, powder, and a few other articles, instead of salted provisions and flour, for purchasing rice, stock, &c. of the country,

is incomparably the most economical course. I attribute the healthiness of the two last companies sent out, in a great degree, to their being put at once on the fresh provisions of the country, instead of salt meat, damaged meal, and mouldy bread, brought from the U. States. The subsistence of this whole company for six months, on country-bought provisions, may be fairly estimated not to cost the Society more than the provisions consumed by them on their passage across the ocean! I trust the plan may be hereafter adhered to. It is, however, necessary that a small supply of salt meat—and a plentiful provision of small stores for the hospital, should make a part of every outfit; and those articles can be much cheaper shipped from home, along with the emigrants, than bought here of trading vessels—except when I happen to have wood and ivory in store.

I shall anticipate the arrival of the next company in December. And if Bassa is to be settled, it will be absolutely necessary to have a large part of the dry season before us.

The people of G. Bassa, are so sensible of the advantages of having a settlement in their country, that there is nothing in their power to offer us, by way of encouragement, which we may not depend on. They tell us that the tribes near the cape, once the poorest on the coast, are now becoming the richest, and most respectable—“They wear better cloth—get more money—make better plantations—and it is all for their close (proximity) to white (civilized) men.”

I must repeat my solicitations to be relieved the next season, in time to visit the U. States early in the next summer.

Respectfully and truly,

Dear Sir, Yours.

J. ASHMUN.

The Rev. R. R. GURLEY, Sec. A. C. S.

CALDWELL, JUNE 3, 1827.

In reply to certain inquiries contained in Mr. Gurley's note, of Jan. 23d, I have to state—That the Teak wood is found on every part of the coast of Africa which I have yet visited. But it is not known to grow in the Colony, in sufficient quantity, to bear exportation. But our territory, at the requisite distance

back, has not been sufficiently explored, with the view of ascertaining its natural products, to allow me to pronounce with certainty, that the Teak shall not in time be added to the exports of the Colony. The same may, at present, be said of Mahogany. Of the wood I will endeavour to forward a small sample, to show the grain and cloud, by the Doris.

PROCESS OF DYING BLUE.

Three different sorts of leaves (and leaves only) are employed in dying Blue. The first are those of the common Indigo plant, which grows indigenous, or propagates itself as a common weed, which it is very difficult to exterminate in many parts of the country. The second species of leaf belongs to a plant of which I have not learnt the name, nor botanical classification. The third, and that most commonly employed, is of a very common tree, which seldom attains to a size larger than that of a full grown cherry tree. The leaf is of the same form, but more than double the size, and without its gloss, substance, and deep verdure. The sap of this leaf, immediately on exposure to the air—for which it requires only to be bruised, is itself a pale blue dye. A handful of leaves, on being crushed and rolled in the hands for five minutes, leaves it stained, but not deeply.—The shade of this blue, is rather that distinguished by painters as the *Blue Vert*, than the *Prussian*.

There is, I believe, but one mode of obtaining the dye in use among the natives of the country—this is by steeping, or rather concocting it in common water, usually in a pot of clay, and placed in the sun for six to twelve days. No fire is used in any part of the process. How the dye is *set* in the interior, I have never been able to learn—but along the seacoast the only material in use, is a rich, foeted; and very black marine mud, commonly taken from the bottom of creeks very near the sea. The dye when ready for use, is plentifully mixed and tempered with the substance—and mud and dye, together, laid upon the cloth repeatedly, and on both sides—the material being dried after every application—for which purpose it is spread in the sun.—This is the mode when the whole piece is to be dyed an uniform colour. When blue and white figures are to be produced, the white are either gathered and tied about with a strong cord, or

enclosed by a strong leaf being wrapped about it, and tied strongly at the neck of the gathering—in both of which ways the dye is excluded from the part intended to remain white, while it has free access to all the other parts. I need scarce remark, that in this latter operation, the piece is repeatedly immersed in the dye pot; in the other, as already observed, the dye is applied with a brush to the cloth, spread upon the sand.

COFFEE.

The Colony is wholly supplied with this article, from its own limits. Bought of the natives, it costs us 6 to 8 bars the bushel (§2 40 to 3 20 African value), 60 lbs.—about five cents the pound. It would bear exportation as respects the price—but that the natives do not gather it in sufficient quantities. The time of colonists is too valuable to be spent in picking Coffee.—But the quantity cured every year increases, and several trading vessels have taken a part of what should have come to our settlements, the present year. But the factories purchase a supply for the colonists. The Coffee actually grown between Montserado and St. Johns, along the seacoast, cannot be estimated—but it is so great as to render it in time, even if no new plantations are made, an important article among the exports of the Colony. The tree, I have already stated, attains to the height of forty feet, with a trunk of six to eight inches, often at a small distance from the ground—but the best bearing trees are those which have not surpassed half that size. They appear to have an age equal to that of other forest trees of the same magnitude.

There is an inferior *species of the Coffee tree (such as is cultivated at Sierra Leone) found growing in the greatest profusion, on nearly all the high lands of the Colony. This grain is of less than half the size of the other; and of a pale, or grayish green hue; but the flavour is thought by many superior to the large green grain. The tree begins to bear at four or five feet high, and seldom exceeds seven or eight feet.

A Coffee tree, of the large kind, produces five to eight, and ten pounds, at the crop—of the inferior species, seldom more

* In size only.

than half a pound.—But it is to be considered that very few self-planted trees are in situations favourable for the testing of their prolific power.

J. ASHMUN.



Auxiliary Societies.

These Institutions appear to be exerting themselves more vigorously; and scarcely a day passes, without bringing intelligence of some movement among our friends favourable to our great and holy cause. The interest which has been excited in the Western States, is becoming more deep, extensive and efficient; and, indeed, throughout nearly the whole country, feelings seem to be awakened, which will gain strength by exercise and every instance of success, and which cannot perish, because sanctified by religion. Now is the time for action. We are urged to it by every possible motive, and encouraged by the most auspicious events. On the Fourth of July the *Colonization Society of King William county, Va.*, made its Annual Report, from which we intend hereafter to publish some extracts.

Auxiliary Society of Russelville, Kentucky.

Agreeably to notice, the citizens of this place met on the Fourth of July last, in the Methodist Church, to form themselves into a Colonization Society. The meeting was a very respectable one, and the opinion was universal that the measures to be adopted by this Society, and which were set forth in the Reports of the Parent Society, were sound and politic. The meeting having been organized and a constitution adopted, the following gentlemen were elected officers and managers:

Rev. William Warder, *President.*

Rev. Peter Akers, }
Dr. George W. Call, } *Vice-Presidents.*

William I. Morton, *Cor. Secretary.*

Thomas W. Nantz, *Rec. Secretary.*

Samuel Wilson, *Treasurer.*

Managers.

George G. Brown,		D. S. Hammond,
Richard Bibb,		Charles B. James,
Hugh Barclay,		Alexander R. Macey,

William Wright,		R. W. January,
John B. Bibb,		S. A. Atchison,
Henry Ashburn,		Dr. H. T. Loving.

Chillicothe Colonization Society.

At a very large and respectable meeting of the citizens of Chillicothe, holden at the Methodist Church on Monday evening, April 23, 1827, pursuant to public notice previously given, for the purpose of organizing an Auxiliary Colonization Society; after an appropriate Address to the Throne of Grace by the Rev. Mr. Graham, of the Presbyterian Church, and a very eloquent and interesting Discourse, explanatory of the objects and purposes of the meeting, by the Rev. M. M. Henkle, Agent of the American and Ohio State Colonization Societies, a Constitution was unanimously adopted, and the following officers appointed:

Hon. Edward Tiffin, *President.*

Gen. Samuel Finley,	}	<i>Vice-Presidents.</i>
A. Walke,		
J. Bailhache,		

Samuel Williams, *Cor. Secretary.*

William Steele, *Recording Secretary.*

T. V. Swearingen, *Treasurer.*

Managers.

Rev. William Simmons,		Nathaniel Sawyer,
Rev. William Graham,		George R. Fitzgerald,
Rev. Joseph Claybaugh,		Robert Kercheval,
Rev. John Ferree,		Samuel Atkinson,
Rev. J. P. Bausman,		Daniel W. Hearn,
Moses Levi,		James T. Worthington.

The Society then adjourned until the 2d Monday in November next.

GEORGE R. FITZGERALD, *Chairman.*

ANTHONY WALKE, *Secretary.*

The following list was incorrectly published in our last Report:—

Officers of the Raleigh Auxiliary Colonization Society.

Col. William Polk, *President.*

Vice-Presidents.

Governor Burton,		Judge Henderson,
Chief Justice Taylor,		Rev. Dr. M'Pheeters.

Managers.

John Haywood,		William Boylan,
Dr. Calvin Jones,		Sherwood Haywood,
Gen. Beverly Daniel,		William Peace,
Thomas P. Devereux,		Stephen Birdsall,
William Hill,		William Peck,
Joseph Ross,		Benjamin S. King.

Daniel Dupre, *Treasurer.*

Joseph Gales, *Secretary.*

*List of the Officers of the Auxiliary Colonization Society of
Connellsville, Pennsylvania.*

Daniel Rogers, *President.*

George Matthias, Esq. *Vice-President.*

Joseph Trever, M. D. } *Cor. Secretaries.*
Joseph Torrence, Jun. }

Jonathan Page, *Treasurer.*

Alexander Johnson, *Recording Secretary.*

*Officers of the Auxiliary Colonization Society, of Bainbridge,
Ohio.*

Rev. Darthuk D. Hewett, *President.*

Jonathan Sayre, *Vice-President.*

Dr. B. O. Carpenter, *Secretary.*

William Hulan, *Treasurer.*

T. F. Armstrong, } *Cor. Committee.*
Absalom Kent, }
James M'Intosh, }

Managers.

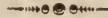
Rev. James H. Dickey,	Jared Taylor,
Matthew Gillfellow,	Dr. W. D. Finley,
John Jones,	James T. Wells.

To the Friends of our Cause.

We think, that all who will candidly peruse the letters from the Colonial Agent, published in this number, must acknowledge that, thus far, the expectations of the earliest and most enthusiastic advocates for African Colonization, have been more than realized. And, if in the course of ten years, a Society composed originally of few members and with scanty means, which in its greatest prosperity has received from the public charity a sum little exceeding annually ten thousand dollars, has done so much; what might not be accomplished were every prosperous citizen of the United States to aid this object—what might not be effected by the united powers of the States and the Nation?

As the Board of Managers are now making preparations to despatch one or two expeditions to the Colony, and as the funds now in their possession are not adequate to the purpose, the several Auxiliary Societies cannot, we believe, at this time more effectually promote the design, for which they exist, than by prompt and energetic efforts to augment the resources of the Parent Institution.

Our friends are particularly invited to consider the importance of enabling the Managers to purchase a vessel, to be constantly employed in conveying emigrants and supplies to Liberia. A vessel of about 150 tons would, it is thought, be best adapted to the purpose. The establishment of a regular intercourse with the Colony, by means of such a vessel, would, we have little doubt, be found economical, and, for numerous other reasons, of great advantage. Donations are earnestly solicited for this object. Should the public liberality authorize us to make the purchase, the vessel will be fitted out the present autumn.



Donations

To the American Colonization Society, from the 20th of August to the 19th of September, 1827.

By the State of Maryland, (omitted 21st May last) the first payment of an annual appropriation,	\$1000
Collection in Bloomfield, N. Jersey, per Rev. Gideon N. Judd,	25
Do. in Rev. J. H. Hotchkin's church, (Presby'n.) Prattsburg, N. York, per S. Rice, Jr., Esq.—Postmaster,	9
Do. in Eastford, Conn., in Rev. Reuben Torrey's church, per D. Bolles, Esq.—Postmaster,	11
Do. in Meeting house of 2d Parish, Portland, Maine, per C. S. Davies, Esq.	\$103
Do. at Vassalborough and Winslow, by Rev. Thos. Adams, per do.	11
	— 114
Do. in 1st Presbyterian congregation, Pittsburg, Penn., per Rev. Francis Herron,	20
Repository,	20
	<hr/>
	Forward, \$1,199

	<i>Brought over,</i>	\$1199
Collection in Presbyterian Church, Aurora, Portage County, O.		
Rev. John Seivar,		6
Do. second time, in Rev. Wm. T. Hamilton's Church, Newark, New Jersey,		31 77
Do. in Meetinghouse of 1st Religious Society, Marietta, O. per David Putnam, Esq.		21
Do. in 1st Congregational Church of Rev. John Whiton, Granville, N. Jersey,		35
Do. at Salem, Va., per Rev. W. Williamson,		7
Do. at Middleburg, per do.		3
Do. at Upperville, Va., as follows—		
Of Rev. Henry Smith, \$5		
John Pilson, 1		
For Repository, 11		
	—	17
Do. by John Willard, of Albany, N. Y., as follows, viz:		
Of Harmannus Bleeker, \$10		
Charles R. Webster, ... 5		
John W. Yates, 5		
Elias Willard, 5		
Js. Brown, 5		
Israel Smith, 10		
John Willard, 10		
	—	50
Rev. I. Boyd, for Repository,		\$50
Nelson County Auxiliary Society, (Va.)		25
Dr. Thomas Massie,		3
	—	78
Rev. Wm. Winans,* for following collections, viz:		
At Woodville, Miss. \$24		
Midway, ,, 19		
Bethel, ,, 18		
Washington, ,, 28 12		
Natchez, ,, 5 50		
	—	
		\$94 62
Deduct exchange, 94		
	—	93 68
		—
		Forward, \$1541 45

* Fifty dollars, remitted by Mr. Winans last year, unfortunately, never reached us.

	<i>Brought over,</i>	\$1541 45
Auxiliary Society, Raleigh, N. C. per D. Du Pre, Esq.		230
Do. Zanesville and Putnam, Ohio, per H. Safford,		
Esq. Secretary,		25
Do. St. Louis, Missouri, per Jos. Spalding, Esq.		100
H. W. Ripley, of N. York, as follows, viz:		
Congregation in Canandaigua, N. Y.—Rev. A. D. Eddy, \$44		
1st Presbyterian congregation in Durham, N. Y.—Rev.		
S. Williston,	12	77
Collections in Williamstown & Williams College, Mass.	30	76
Amount collected by Mrs. Bethune, N. Y.	5	
		<hr/> \$92 53
	Deduct bad note,	1
		<hr/> 91 53
Hon. Bushrod Washington, as follows, viz:		
W. F. Curry, Scottsville, N. Y.		\$5
Collection in Providence, R. I., per N. Waterman, Jr.	28	56
Do. in Rev. Wm. Page's congregation, Michigan,		5
		<hr/> 38 56
Collections in St. John's Church, Hagerstown, per F. Anderson,		25
Do. in Presbyterian Church, Bellefont, Pennsylvania, per		
James Linn,		16
Do. by Rev. Edward Smith, Winchester, Va.—per Rev.		
Mr. Davis,		21
Auxiliary Society, Staunton, Va.—J. Cowan, Esq., Treasurer—		
per Thomas Munroe, Esq.		45
		<hr/> \$2,133 54
		<hr/> <hr/>

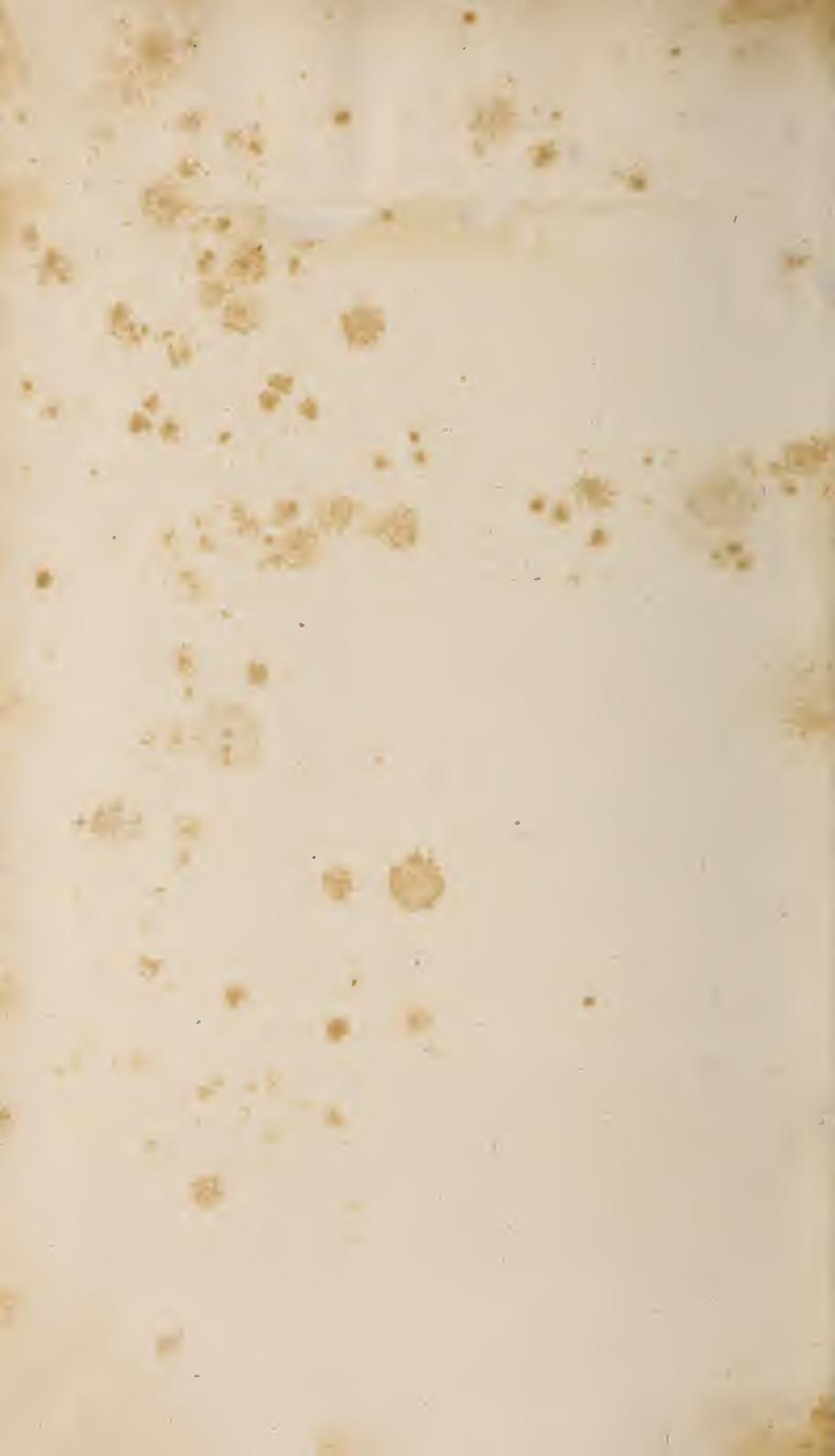
N. B. In our December number, for 1826, page 323, a donation is acknowledged from the Auxiliary Society of New York. It should have been from the Auxiliary Society, *Albany*, New York; and the following were the individual donations which made up the sum.

S. M. Hopkins,	\$10
Wm. A. Tweed Dale, ..	10
Benj. F. Butler,	10
Israel Smith,	10
John Willard,	10



ERROR.—In the last number, page 185, fifth line from the top, for "Seel" read *Steel*.



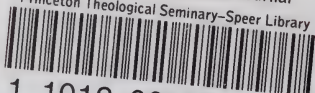


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